311 [242] Land appraisal made by people with long experience with the capabilities of their soils under traditional methods of farming, fertilization, and land reclamation is very old in the culture. This in itself is a very significant fact about the culture aside from the obvious technical utility of a land classification system. [556] Land classification is important as a tangible indication of wealth as appraised by representatives of the village. This classification [651] is the basis of taxation of land. A grade two rice paddy pays a lower tax than a grade one. The system of land classification also [433] provides a basis for estimating probable yields.

[632] Township officials are responsible for land classification on a township basis, but each village does its own. In Oushichan township (Hanashiro and Hinatogawa) the elected mayor and his appointed subordinates and local farmers who know the land well have set up the system based on classes and grades of land. In Ginoza-son, the mayor performs a similar function. Since each village has its land classification, a table of correspondences makes possible the comparison of equivalent grades. A composite system for the township can then be made. Grade three rice land in Matsuda, for example, may be equivalent to grade two rice land in Ginoza village. By listing all these together, a village wide classification is made.

The main classifications (tōkyū) of land found in all communities are: (1) Rice lands, (ta, tambo), (2) dry crop land (hatake). It is very difficult to translate the word hatake. So far the expression dry crop land has been used. This land may be contrasted with the wet rice fields; it is dry farming land, usually on rolling slopes or upland. It is land used for cultivation of domestic plants except rice and one or two other minor crops. Rice and dry crop land are the two main classes. (3) Genya land. This word is also difficult to translate. It is variously rendered as wild or waste land, but it is neither wild nor wasteland in an economic sense. It is best described negatively as land not suited for cultivation. Despite its low value, it is important land for its production of grass, reeds, firewood and plant shoots for domestic animals. It is vital in land [185] conservation. The genya land, sometimes on steep or gentle mountain slopes, sometimes cropping out in the midst of cultivated fields or rice paddies, with its dense growth of grass, its occasional pine tree or cycad effectively binds the soil and prevents disastrous run off and flash floods. Around the village of Hanashiro, genya land is rocky and most of its vegetation consists of grass with some shrubs. Before the war, this genya land had more pine and cycads than at present, and the disappearance of the cycad and pine furnished greater opportunity for the omnipresent miscanthus, though there are occasional regrowths of the pine. In Matsuda, the genya land often is indistinguishable from the forest. But the trees are less dense and the privately owned genya is interspersed with the small cultivated paddies and fields. (4) House sites (yashiki, takuchi). There are usually two classes: the first class site is convenient and on a main road or lane; the second class is inconvenient, a rear house, or one

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

311 Land classification in Okinawa proceeds from the village to the township and then to the whole island. Each class of land in a village has its own grade. By combining these grades a township classification is made. This is done first by village committees determining the grades for each of their classes of land, and then by setting up a table of equivalences after discussion by the committee representing the whole township. Matsuda's first grade dry crop land might be considered by the land classification committee to be equal in quality to Ginoza village's second class land. While there might be only six classifications for any one village, when all these are combined, there may be ten grades for the township. This is shown by the table of correspondences for Matsuda and neighboring villages in Ginoza-son, as of November 1951.

In this illustration, Matsuda's first class rice land is considered second grade on a township wide basis; its sixth grade dry crop land is grade nine, and its first and second class houses are by comparison, grades three and four in the whole township.

311 623 632 With minor variations, the procedures in classifying land are the same in both townships. Each village makes the classification of its own land. This is done by five villagers, chosen by the people for their knowledge and integrity. In Gushichan township, village experts are designated to serve on the township committee.[8] Seven men from the villages are joined by the mayor (sonchō), the vice-mayor (joyaku), the trade and industry section head, the agricultural section head of the township office, a total of eleven men, who then determine the township classifications. These committees make inspections of doubtful cases, often after working hours. The field trips usually end up with a sake party. [574]

In Ginoza-son essentially the same procedures are followed. Each village sends representatives, the number being determined by the area of the village. In late 1951, this village-wide committee had 24 members with the township mayor as chairman. Each village prepares its own land classification map. The local classifications, later combined to make a township-wide classification, have the advantage of limiting the range of grades in a small area and of comparing parcels close together.

Occasionally the grade of a plot is changed to correct an error or to make it consistent with an improvement. A new road may make a plot of land more accessible and thus change its grade.

311 651 433 556 In all the villages studied, land classification was important for the same reasons: for tax purposes, for estimating future production, and for the individual farmer, a means of demonstrating tangible wealth.

8 One representative each is chosen from the villages of Gushichan, Aragusuku, Koshihara, and Nakaza villages, one from Oton and Hanashiro combined, one from Asato and Yoza combined, and one from Hinatogawa-ikku and Hinatogawa-niku combined.

565 553 A common device among noble families was to vary the second character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of House	Given Name
Grandfather	Chohyo
Father	Chokan
Present Head	Choyo
First Son	Choko
Second Son	Choshin
Third Son	Chokeii
Fourth Son	Chosei

554 Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resident there, the well-to-do farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or fishermen.[3] These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status. Their clothing and the appearance of their homes are indistinguishable from those of a farmer. The ordinary farmer who works his field during the day and whose wife raises the pigs is in a better economic position. The same applies to village and township officials. Many distinctions based on wealth have disappeared because of the destruction and general impoverishment of the war. [556] Neither are distinctions possible in dress, for everyone wears makeshift clothing. Post-war circumstances have put the old at a disadvantage in dealing with new situations. Present day village life is fluid. The war and its aftermath have blurred many of the former distinctions based on age, occupation, or wealth.

621 208 Village leadership is based on individual qualities, but is limited by group opinion which all individuals respect. Decisions of any character, personal, familial, or political, emerge from consultation and discussion. One constantly hears the word sōdan, meaning a discussion or a consultation, with reference to decision making.

555 212 What types of individuals assume leadership in village affairs? First, leadership comes from a group that is literate. This limits the people available for responsible positions. Occupations such as the

3 According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth, classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringers ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages, there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil—and this occupation is infrequent. [461] [565] [963]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

conduct of a local business of any size, employment in official and semi-official organizations, and teaching require facility in reading and writing Japanese, that is, the use of the Chinese character and the two Japanese syllabaries, katakana and hiraganna. It is true that under the Japanese and the present system of education, everyone learns the characters. But after school is left behind, there must be continued practice in reading and writing, or one's fund of knowledge gradually disappears and he remembers only a few of the simpler or more common characters. For responsible leadership, this school vocabulary must at least be maintained. A village headman today must hold his own in reading and writing. Reports have to be made to the township office. The frequent conferences and meetings require note taking. Storm warnings may be received, correspondence and simple record keeping are continual tasks. In one village, the criticism made of the headman was that his knowledge of characters was too elementary.

If a person has leisure, this makes him available for positions of leadership. A poor farmer could not ordinarily accept the position of village headman except at a great sacrifice. Public duties, even in a small village like Hanashiro, require that a headman be on call most of the time for meetings, or to hear personal problems and complaints of the villagers. It is significant that the former village headman of Hanashiro and the current headman of Hatsuda both are operators of rice mills and do not have the exacting dawn to dusk duties of a farmer. In Hanashiro and Nagamo, the present headmen are operating farmers who are able to combine their private and public duties, but both places are small. The headman of Hinatogawa, a fisherman, has had to forego many fishing trips because his duties kept him in the village.

Leadership is also assumed by those who have had foreign experience, either in the Japanese administrative hierarchy abroad or simply through foreign residence. These people generally have a broader point of view and know more.

The last factor is age. It is often thought that village life in Oriental countries under the family system is dominated by the older and respected males. It is true that the opinion of retired elders is sought for and respected, but not merely because of age. In addition, there may be a life of successful farming, teaching, office holding, possibly a combination of these, behind them. Leadership comes from young men too, usually the result of experience in the young men's association. Energetic leadership, often accompanied by organisational ability, is noticeable in the age group from about 24 to 27. Women have fewer opportunities but can show their abilities in their work in the Women's Association.

Village leadership rests both on the respected elders and the promising young men, on those who have kept and increased their skill in language, who have occupations that relieve them from the unremitting

21Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township.

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their incomes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small hospital. He receives some financial support from the township government. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster, the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help their wives.

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious specialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the ceremony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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Chapter 4

Property

Rice paddies, farm land and some grass land, trees on private land, a house site and house, as well as livestock and tools, are owned by the heads of households. Land is registered in the household head's name, and he has sole right to dispose of it. Ordinarily younger sons have no right to their father's property, but a man may will property to them. If there is no will, however, everything reverts to the eldest son. Despite this, several families of younger sons were found to have land holdings equal to those of eldest sons.

A widow with young sons may hold land in trust for her sons or, if there are no male heirs, may inherit the land outright. Divorcees and spinsters may also acquire land by purchase, and there are several women in Taira who are household heads and owners of real estate.

Because of the war and a general shift in population, much land and many house sites have changed owners, and former wealthy families are no longer the largest landowners. When they returned, several families with small prewar land holdings were able to raise the necessary cash to buy land.

There is little sentimental attachment to a particular plot of land, and households have never been associated with particular plots. Rather, land is considered a necessary commodity, and thus it frequently changes hands. This sentiment may derive from the communal land-holding system with its periodic redistribution of plots to individuals, which was found throughout Okinawa until abolished under Japanese administration at the turn of the century.

Forest land from which villagers derive an income is owned by the village. Being a member of the community confers the right to use village forests, subject to regulations made by the village. Of particular interest is the village-owned tea field, which the village cooperative controls. The field has been subdivided, and each household in the

a young man would have had no previous sexual experience and that it was felt 585
that it was necessary for him to be instructed by an experienced woman before 178
he had relations with his bride. The third explanation was given by a country 565
woman in her fifties, of gentry descent. She told how her husband had gone to the wedding of a city relative and had been taken afterwards to the juri-nuyaa. She did not know if her husband had been treated to a juri or not but was sure that the groom must have had one. Her explanation of the practice was that it was mainly a display of the position of the family and its ability to provide entertainment. Probably there is a bit of truth in all three explanations. The practice does undoubtedly reenforce the male's right to sexual freedom. The second explanation seems a little weak, especially in view of the reported former practice of the city gentry of combining a sexual initiation with the boy's coming-of-age ceremony, but the explanation may be that given for the earlier trip to the brothel and it may also be the "explanation" of the practice conventionally given, conventional explanations not necessarily revealing real motives. The last explanation, that the practice is mainly a display, probably strikes at the most important motive, the use of entertainment to demonstrate status.

Secondary Marriage Formerly wealthier men sometimes took juri as 837
mistresses. In the village of Yamada before the war, the richest man, or 556
perhaps the only man designated as "rich man" had his own juri. She was a kooi-juri, a "bought juri", that is, he had bought her from the house she had been indentured to. She stayed in Naha, but occasionally came to Yamada. The informant who told of this, a woman in her thirties, expressed the opinion that any man who became rich would naturally soon want his own juri.

At the present time it seems to be a fairly widespread practice for a 595
man who has enough means to have a second wife (yuubee, in Japanese 'nigō', "number two"). Sometimes this is done openly, sometimes secretly. It may be a more common practice today than formerly because of the present skewed sex ratio. Some information was obtained about two such men, one a fisherman and the other a doctor, so-called.

The fisherman was an Itoman man; his first wife had no children so he took as a second wife a woman whose family lived in a town to the north. The second wife has borne three children. The "main wife" (in Japanese 'honsai') stays at Itoman in the house of the man's father, and there she is raising the husband's first son, the child of the second wife. But most of the time the husband is at one of the northern villages with his second wife, her other children, and two boys of junior high school age whom he bought on one of the outer islands to help him in his fishing. Unfortunately I did not learn how the family was registered in the 'koseki'.

The "doctor" was a man from a village south of Naha, who had an office [757]
at his home and also a practice in Naha. His methods consisted of heat treatments and steam baths. He spent about half the time with his "number two", whom he had set up in a room in Naha. His first wife was presumably unaware of the existence of the second wife, even though he once took the second wife to his home along with a patient, ostensibly as a friend of the patient.

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 536 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a re-intensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and re-intensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
• [559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."